1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European-clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Bonglehole and Bonglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

285' 313 either end. A hollow cylinder was made and stuffed with banana leaves (*lau uto*) or coconut husk fiber (*lau hanu*). The technique by which this pillow was made has been forgotten, for no woman professed herself able to make the article. Yielding to my suggestion that someone experiment, two pillows were made, but neither conforms to informants' description.

Pillow Cloth has a four-cornered cover 15/16 inches long, 6 inches wide and 3/16 inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of fine material. Wefts 3 to the inch. The technique is that of ordinary mat plaiting, plaited in the modern way around a wooden block. The sliding cover is stuffed with coconut fiber and closed by passing finishing wefts under adjacent plaited elements.

Pillow Cloth 2 is also four-cornered, 11 inches long, 5 inches deep, and 3/16 inches thick. It is plaited in single element check of mixed *hanuelo pukapuka* and fiber. Wefts 2 to the inch. The cover is stuffed with banana leaves.

285 291 177 Hats of European style are made of pandanus materials or prepared coconut fiber. They are of the Penrhyn type, either plain or decorated by change of plaiting strokes or by overlaid strips of red-dyed materials. They are worn as protection against rain and as part of the church-going costume. No head covering or eyeshade of pandanus or coconut leaf was made in former times.

Coconut-leaf Articles

Mats and Sheets

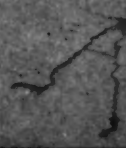
285 [171] The technique of making the Pukapukan coconut mat sheets, roof ridging sheets, and wall screens follows exactly the Samoan technique (27, pp. 168, 174, 176; cf. 26, pp. 7, 24).

Pukapukan coconut leaf mats in Bernice P. Bishop Museum are described in the list given on page 136.

Baskets

Plaited coconut baskets (generic name, *eke*) are made with two different commencements—the twisted, two-strip commencement (29, p. 187, fig. 85) and the Pukapukan turned-back, two-strip commencement.

In the twisted two-strip commencement, the leaflets of each strip, following their natural direction, are twisted over the leaflets immediately in front. Two strips carrying leaflets are placed together, the sinistral-bearing strip above the other strip. To make the plaiting close and neat, one or more extra leaflets are added as extra wefts by placing the butt end between two middle strips forming the commencement. This is the two-strip commencement with extra wefts which corresponds to the Tongarevan technique (28, pp. 127-132, figs. 14-17). The plaiting of the body of the baskets is in twill. At the bottom are a few rows of check, the size of the basket being made smaller by superimposing two alternate dextrals or two alternate sinistrals and plaiting the two elements as a single element. The baskets are finished with a braid.



285 175 leaf cloth for 6 rows. The dextrals are gathered together and braided in three-ply, and fastened with a knot; the sinistrals are similarly treated.

Platter Ofafa (*kaukau ana ika*) is a platter for serving fish. It has a single-strip commencement in which four leaflets from the left function as dextrals and four leaflets on the right are turned back to function as sinistrals. Two leaflets carried on one strip are added to make the plaiting closer. The plait is in check for a depth of 10 inches when dextrals and sinistrals are gathered together on one side and tied in a double overhand knot with the gathered welts from the other side.

Platter Ofafa (*kaukau ana kaloi*) is a platter for serving the dish called *kaloi*. It has the turned-back, two-strip commencement, and the body of the platter is plaited in open leaf check for a depth of 12 inches. In finishing the edge, all the dextrals are carried across to the right side and knotted. Similarly, the sinistrals are all carried across to the left side and knotted.

MALO

291 285 Formerly the everyday dress of the Pukapukan man was the coconut-leaf malo (*malo kaumia*), made by ordinary plaiting technique. It was worn during working hours and thrown away when soiled. The following malo is typical:

Malo Ofafa (*malo kaumia*) is made from a strip of midrib 13½ inches long, carrying 10 leaflets (pl. 3,*B*). Each of the six leaflets in the middle of the strip is split into four lengths longitudinally. These 24 elements are plaited in a close check to a depth of 10½ inches, width 7 inches. What is really a small coconut sheet is narrowed by plaiting two elements as one for five rows and then four elements as one for one row, the ends being gathered together and braided in a four-ply tail of which each ply is composed of four elements. The tail is 12½ inches long and finished with an overhand knot. The sheet material has a natural concavity on the dull side of the leaflets. The two end leaflets on either end of the commencement strip are each split into two longitudinally and braided in a four-ply tail, finished with an overhand knot, 24 inches long on one side, 30 inches long on the other. The commencement strip is chewed with the teeth and softened before wearing.

FANS

285 293 Both coconut leaf and pandanus fans (*ili*) are made by the women and used on all occasions by men and women. (See pl. 3, *A*.) A square fan made of pandanus is similar to a type of Samoan fan figured by Buck (27, p. 633, and pl. LV, *B*, 4), but the style is said to be old in Pukapuka:

This fan (Ofafa), *ili kaumia kaasol* one *te kie*, is plaited in check with welts of *kie* and *kaumia pukapuka* (pl. 3,*A*,1). It is 7 inches square and mounted on a handle of *pungua* wood 14 inches long and ¾ inch wide. The commencement of the plaiting is by the ordinary pandanus mat technique. The left edge and the bottom edge are plaited to a depth corresponding to half the size of the completed fan. At the working edge a shed is made the width of the fan. A long strip of *kie* material, the width of the handle, is laid in this shed, passing underneath and back over the last element of the shed. The handle, which has been whittled down to half its thickness, is laid in the shed on top of the *kie*. The strip of *kie* is brought back and laid on top of the handle, the free ends of the *kie* strip projecting beyond the proximal end of the handle. Plaiting continues beyond the handle which is then gripped by the crossing welts, all alternate elements forming the shed are laid down and taken up. The fan is then turned so that the previous left edge is at the bottom of the plaiting and the handle projects to the left.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

CLOTHING

291/177 The Pukapukans today wear European dress termed *kakau* (coverings). Formerly the everyday dress of the man was the *malo launiu* of plaited coconut leaf; that of the woman, the coconut leaf kilt (*titi launiu*). These articles of clothing were called generically *wakakaau*; any clothing or ornament attached to the waist was called *lulu taukupu*. In general clothing was worn below the hips. Today men retain this pattern in the way they fasten trousers below the hips.

The technique of making the man's coconut-leaf malo has been given (p. 141). To wear the malo, the strings are tied round the waist, the body of plaited material is placed over the genitals, and the braided tail is passed between the legs and fastened to the strings at the back. The woman's kilt of coconut leaf reaches to the knees.

294 The kilt is made by splitting leaflet-carrying strips of appropriate length from the butt end of the coconut leaf. The strips are made thin and soft by tearing off superfluous fibers with the teeth and by chewing. Four of these strips are placed together in pairs, with the rough side of the strips in juxtaposition. The two pairs of strips are tied together at 3-inch intervals with strips of midrib fiber (*kalavu*). Each leaflet is split longitudinally by removing the leaflet midrib (*tua*), and may be split again any number of times with the thumb nail. A length of two-ply twisted sennit is tied to each end of the midrib strip waistband by which the kilt is fastened round the waist. There is no record that the leaflets of the kilt were ever plaited or braided together. Kilt C8192 conforms in all particulars to the above description.

293/283 Back supports of twisted fiber are sometimes worn. Formerly these girdles were made of the bark of the *welo* tree.

The bark was removed from the trunk of the tree and soaked in salt water for about two weeks. Strips of bark were then cut to the appropriate length and width and soaked in fresh water until the bark was white and tough. Dyed red, the bark was used as streamers for ornamental headdresses. Left white and twisted into a cord termed *matai welo*, it was used to make the champion's ring at a wrestling contest or [764] was wound round the waist (*pepelu ki te matai welo*) to support the back against strains. Today mourners sitting round a corpse for 24 hours or longer tie a sennit cord round the waist to support the back against the strain of continuous sitting.

291 Sandals of elaborate type are unknown. But when, after prolonged reef fishing, the soles of the fisherman become very soft from long immersion in water, he may strip coconut leaf stipule (*kaka niu*) from a tree by the beach, fold these strips to a suitable thickness, and tie them on his feet with lengths of coconut midrib fiber (*kalavu*). These foot coverings, termed descriptively *wakamalu vae* (foot soothers), were worn over the sharp and hot coral until the soles hardened again.

Uncovered heads are exposed to the sun only for short periods. Adults who are to be out in the sun for some time invariably wear hats or make a rough head covering out of coconut leaves. No eye shade was or is worn to protect the eyes from the glare of the sun.

1:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-8) 1938 Pukapukans

886 145 phrase *koe punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

561 881 864 The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

561 881 The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Nima, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *wale liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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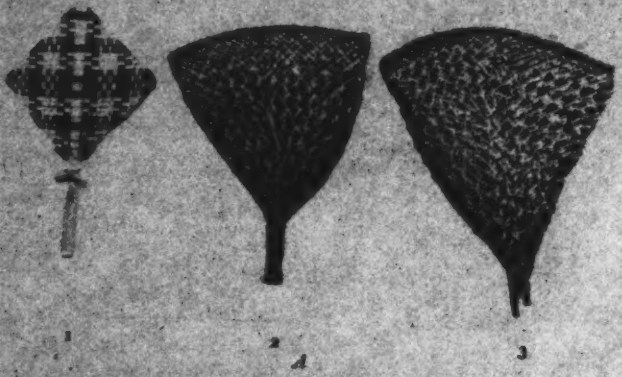

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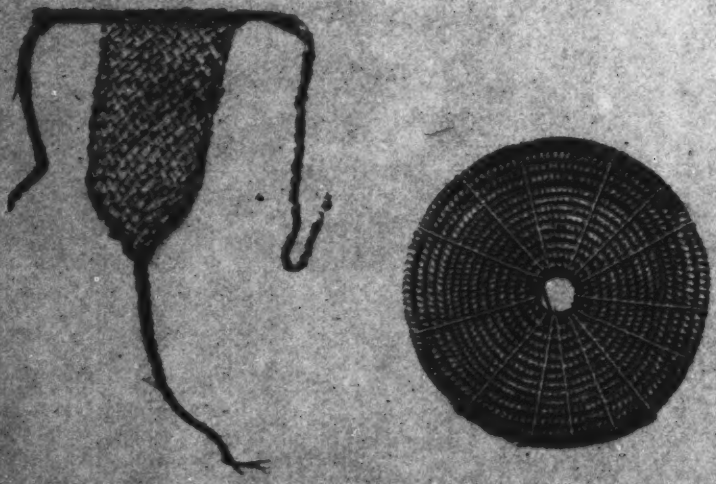

FANS AND MALOS. *A*, FANS: 1, PLAITED PANDANUS MATERIAL; 2, PLAITED WITH LEAFLETS STRIPPED FROM COCONUT MIDRIB, BUTT ENDS OF LEAFLETS GATHERED TOGETHER AND BOUND WITH SENNIT TO MAKE A HANDLE; 3, MADE WITH TWO LENGTHS OF COCONUT MIDRIB AND LEAFLETS PLAITED IN CLOSE CHECK. *B*, MALO OF COCONUT LEAF; MIDRIB STRIP TOGETHER WITH BRAIDED END LEAFLETS FORM WAIST GIRDLE, BODY OF PLAITED LEAFLETS CONCEALS GENITALS, AND BRAIDED TAIL IS PASSED BETWEEN LEGS; FASTENED TO WAIST GIRDLE AT BACK. *C*, MALO OF FIVE-PLY BRAIDED SENNIT, ROLLED FOR STORAGE AS A DISC AND HELD TOGETHER BY TRANSVERSE TURNS OF FINER THREE-PLY SENNIT.